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quite unequal, even if it is in good order, for the work that is now being put upon it. The result is that it is constantly breaking down. The question of replacing the engine has now been under consideration for two or three years, but was postponed owing to a larger scheme for reorganizing the whole of the presses in Madras. That scheme has had to be abandoned owing to financial considerations and we have now to carry on in the best way we can with the presses we have. In order to satisfy the hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao, I may assure him that we have endeavoured to secure this Rs. 6,000 by reappropriation, but owing to our having just carried out a scheme for the revision of the salaries of the staff, which has taken up all the money that we had to spare, we have to come before the Council for this grant of Rs. 6,000."

The motion was put and carried, and the grant was made.

III

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY, 1922.

The hon. the President :—"The House will now resume consideration of the Bill to provide for the reorganization of the Madras University."

Diwan Bahadur Sir T. DESIKA ACHARIYAR :—"Mr. President, the hon. the Minister for Education in his impassioned and eloquent speech yesterday directed many of the remarks connected with this subject to Trichinopoly and he constantly looked at me and made the remarks so that I thought it was necessary for me to reply to them.

"It is not my purpose this morning to say anything against the benefits which must accrue by the organization of a residential and teaching university in the City of Madras. I do not advocate a policy which would be calculated to embody the complaint, that if I have not got the benefit, the City of Madras ought not to have any benefit at all. That is not the object. The object with which I rise to make a few observations upon this Bill is this. There is a considerable amount of apprehension entertained in connexion with the disastrous consequences that will follow to the mufassal colleges by the enactment of this Act. If this Bill becomes law, it is felt by heads of colleges in the mufassal, with whom I had a conference, that there would be a fall in the attendance of their colleges. It is also felt that their colleges, by reason of being called mufassal colleges as contra-distinguished from the colleges within the ten-mile radius referred to in the Bill which are called constituent colleges, would occupy a subordinate position; and their fear also is that by reason of this elimination of the mufassal colleges from their equal place with the constituent colleges as hitherto the pupils would think that the mufassal colleges are colleges which are very inferior to the colleges at Madras. The answer to that, Sir, is not to say that the mufassal is mufassal and the city is city, that any difference that there is now will continue to exist and that therefore there is no reason to complain. I invited the hon. the Minister to Trichinopoly to preside over the functions of the National College anniversary and I requested him to make a statement to the heads of colleges and to the persons interested in

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educational matters there, and after he had made that statement, Sir, in his usual eloquent manner, there was an appeal sent to His Excellency the Governor protesting against the passing of the Bill.

"I do not, for a moment, say that all the reasons which are given in the appeal are reasons which cannot be confronted by arguments 12-30 p.m. to the contrary. But what I do mean to say is that there is entertained a considerable amount of alarm with reference to the consequences of the enactment of this measure. It has also to be stated that, if the university is suffering from its width, from the fact that it has to control colleges from Berhampur to Tinnevelly, if there is any inconvenience caused by the unwieldy character of the present university, the correct thing would be to adopt the opinion of the Senate in their resolution which reads :

That the Senate is of opinion that the time has come when the increasing demand for liberal education in this Presidency should be met by the establishment of more universities and by the redistribution of the territorial areas of the existing university so as to provide as far as practicable at least one university for each principal linguistic area within the Presidency and that the Syndicate be directed to communicate the foregoing resolution to the Local Government with the request that the Local Government be pleased to address the Government of India with a view to get the necessary legislation enacted.

"Sir, so far as this resolution of the Senate is concerned, I note that, though it is dated 15th October 1920, nothing has been done so far to give effect to the recommendation. In my humble view it is necessary to have at least three universities and to make arrangements to strengthen the constituent colleges in order that they might develop into universities in three centres and that is the remedy that we must now adopt, instead of the remedy of allowing the colleges of Madras within the ten-mile radius to form themselves into a university and excluding the mufassal colleges. I have already said that I have no complaint against anything being done to better the University of Madras, to make it a residential and teaching university and to make it an efficient university for higher education and research work. But what I do complain about is that, even the hon. the Minister who takes a sympathetic view with reference to matters in education in general, in his speech yesterday referred to the report on the Andhra university as being ready to be taken up at a very early date but did not make any enthusiastic statement with regard to the establishment of a Dravida University at Trichinopoly or any other place duly selected. There is, in the circumstances, considerable force in the appeal which was presented to His Excellency by the heads of colleges in Madura, Trichinopoly, Mannargudi and Vizianagram. I do not believe that any second grade college is likely to accept the principle of the Bill without a considerable amount of modification. It is also apprehended that there would be a sort of monopoly in matters relating to university education so far as Madras is concerned, a monopoly which generally in all lines of development is attempted to be avoided. I do not know whether that is in the contemplation of the Minister for Education; he seems to think that the mufassal colleges will not be affected either as to strength or as to their finances and there seem to be provisions in the Act itself which would go to show that the present status would be assured to them both in point of strength and in matters of finance. I also see that there is a council of affiliated colleges provided for; there are in the Bill other councils in which mufassal colleges have their place. But all this assurance of privileges and representation does not seem

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to satisfy the heads of colleges whose apprehensions, the Minister will duly have to allay when he takes up the Bill for consideration. If it is not possible to have a select number of colleges in the mufassal made constituent colleges at once, my own submission, Sir, is that constituent colleges must be so strengthened by Government as to develop into universities in different centres. That is the only remedy that is possible in the matter of university reform.

"There is one other objection, Sir, that is taken to the present Bill and that is with reference to the provision for a residential teaching university. My hon. friend Mr. Meston said yesterday that the individuality of colleges is going to be maintained. Their individuality must be maintained of course. The hon. the Minister for Education pointed out that hardly 50 per cent of the students are accommodated in hostels."

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—"I said, Sir, that more than 50 per cent of the students attend the city colleges."

Diwan Bahadur Sir T. DESIKA ACHARIYAR :—"But, so far as students seeking accommodation in hostels are concerned, my own experience outside the city of Madras is that a very small percentage of the student population goes to hostels while the rest live outside. My information is that a similar thing prevails in the city of Madras also. If this continues, the new university cannot be called a residential university, nor can it be called a teaching university, having regard to the individual character of the colleges having to be maintained under a distinct system. I am told, Sir,—I am not myself an expert on the point,—that to have a residential teaching university a much larger sum of money than is at present at the disposal of the Minister for Education would be necessary, and that has also to be considered, not from the point of view of the Minister for Government, but from the point of view of the needs of the mufassal colleges. The mufassal colleges apprehend, that all the money available would be spent in Madras, and very little would go to them.

"These are some of the objections, Sir, which are put forward on behalf of the mufassal colleges. If the hon. Minister will consider these in connexion with the Bill, and if he will also indicate his ideas as to whether, as soon as possible a Dravida university could be organized in a centre like Trichinopoly or in any other suitable place, it would be of great use in discussing the Bill; but as it is, the Bill would require considerable modification in order to allay the public feeling and the alarm which I have already referred to."

Mr. A. T. PALMER :—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support the Bill that has been introduced by the hon. Minister for Education. Sir, the criticisms on the University Bill have been centred, I believe, on three questions. One question is whether the new University of Madras may not indefinitely postpone the chances of establishing universities in other centres of the Madras Presidency. Perhaps these fears are due to the idea that the new University of Madras might absorb most of the financial aid that the Government might be willing to give by way of university education. But as far as one can infer from the Bill, it is clear that the Government is not going to give to the Madras University much more than what it is giving it

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at present. Perhaps it has to pay the Vice-Chancellor for a few years, and perhaps also by way of establishing hostels a certain sum of money may be given in addition to the present expenditure. Afterwards, I believe, the Madras University will not be such a costly burden on the Government as some are inclined to think. Besides, if we go into the Bill, there is a very thoughtful arrangement by which money can be tapped from private persons. People can become life members of the Senate according to the provisions of the Bill by paying donations. Similarly people are entitled to nominate members to the Senate by paying certain amounts. I am sure, Sir, many will take advantage of this and help the University. And if we only look at this with an optimistic vision, I am sure the Madras University will not be pauperising the universities that may be started in other places. Even supposing, Sir, that the Madras University is to cost a good deal and retard the establishment of universities in other places, I think to object to the starting of this university on new lines is rather selfish. It is admitted on all hands that a teaching university with residential ideas is preferable to a mere examining university. Most of us have read the article written by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on the aims and ideals of a university. He says there that unless the guru and the disciple live together and move together and exchange ideas and thoughts and truths, a university does not deserve the name of a university. Even in our own country our ancient peoples had this conception of guru and disciple living and spending their days together. As such, I am sure it is admitted that this university is preferable to the other one which merely served as an examining body.

"In fact the superiority of the universities in the West is due to this peculiar feature. Hence, I say it is selfish if we
12-45 p.m. object to the establishment of this university on the score that it may postpone the establishment of universities in other places. Again the establishment of this university will be, as the hon. the Minister for Education stated, an incentive to start universities in other places. No doubt the establishment of a university is a very costly affair, and we very characteristically often want the Government to help us in the establishment of universities, as we seek the aid of Government in several other ways. But if we study the history of other universities in the world, we will find that it is not the Government that starts universities but it is the people themselves. Everywhere it is the people that come to the aid of universities, and then the Government may come in with its contributions. In the first instance it must be through the peoples' desire and through their effort that universities should be started. As the hon. the Minister for Education has stated, where we have opportunities for co-operation, co-ordination and reciprocity, then those places will be the nucleus for starting universities.

"The second objection raised is that the affiliated colleges will be left in the lurch by this new organization. Safeguards have been placed in the Bill against the affiliated colleges being neglected. I must admit that there is bound to be some disparity between the colleges in Madras and those in the mufassal. Perhaps that disparity exists even at the present moment (hear, hear!). However we must not fail to notice that there are some new advantages offered to the affiliated colleges by the new arrangement. For one thing professors from affiliated colleges can be appointed as university

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professors. Secondly, the teaching of the affiliated colleges is going to be supplemented by the teaching of university professors. As regards examinations and standards of study, the Bill says it will be quite the same. Provision is also made for the appointment of examiners from among the professors of affiliated colleges.

"The third objection raised against this reorganization is that it is going to make university education more costly than what it is at present. Yesterday one hon. Member was telling us that university education must be as free as air and water. Now, Sir, it seems to me that this 'air and water' argument is a little bit fallacious, for even air and water, though they are free to all, are not available to all people alike. If we but bestow a little more thought upon the matter, we will see that air and water are not available to the same extent to the rich and the poor. University education is of course to be free, that is to say, every one can have it without distinction of caste, creed or sex. But then it is to be confined to those who can afford to have it. The education that is given in the Madras Presidency at present is, I am glad to say, superior to that given in other parts of India. We are glad that we are keeping up a high standard. The present Bill will only make it more efficient, and all well-wishers of university education must welcome all those attempts that would tend to make the university education in this Presidency as efficient as possible. If efficiency means more cost, we cannot help it. It is not possible to give a valuable thing at a cheap cost. If the cost of the thing is to go down, the value will have to be lowered too. Under the circumstances, I think that, if the reorganization of the University of Madras is likely to increase the cost of education, we must welcome it. It is a pity that people who can use their lives in other walks of life waste their time and energy by knocking at the door which is not to open to them and which even when it opens brings very little comfort. Therefore if the new Madras University Bill makes education more costly, we need not grudge the same. The really intelligent student who wants university education can avail himself of the many scholarships and studentships with which the university abounds. Under these circumstances, I hope that it would be conceded that the reorganization of the Madras University is greatly necessary at present.

"Perhaps, I may say in closing that another objection is raised, namely, that we are rushing this Bill through. I confess I do not understand this. The idea of altering the present state of affairs was in the minds of people for a long time past, in fact so early as 1904 the idea of a teaching and a residential university was thought of and, if we develop it now, I am sure it cannot be said that we are rushing this Bill through. With these remarks, I heartily support the Bill."

Khan Sahib Munshi MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN SAHIB :— "Mr. President, Sir, I most heartily congratulate the hon. Mr. Patro for bringing out this useful and necessary Bill of university reform establishing a teaching and residential university at Madras.

"A mere examining and affiliating body can never constitute a university. The urgent need for radical reform in the older type of universities in India has been abundantly brought out by the exhaustive and critical report of the Sadler Commission. So it is quite in the fitness of things that the hon. the

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Minister for Education has shrewdly ushered in this Bill to rear up a splendid and up-to-date residential university in the metropolis of this Presidency, while at the same time, not interfering with the present relation of the Madras University to the mufassal colleges. Ever since the publication of this Bill, there has been criticism of sorts, much of it being wide of the mark.

"In the first place, the attitude of the Senate is quite unreasonable. According to its final resolution, the establishment of a residential university should be postponed until the advantages of a teaching university could be provided in an equal degree for every education centre in this Presidency. Such a proposition is calculated to give rise to serious misgivings. Its present opposition is a sad commentary on all that it has been doing since the publication of the Sadler Commission's report. It has been all along adopting resolutions investing the university with the teaching function. What the present Bill proposes to do is to avoid tinkering repairs and boldly tackle the problem as a whole with a definite view to the attainment of a well conceived object of education.

"The present Bill is in keeping with the new political outlook and at the same time satisfies the needs of academic freedom. Even though the principle of communal representation is introduced into the composition of some of the bodies controlling the university, yet I believe it will not in practice subvert real academic freedom and impede the realization of the sublime universal ideal. The appointment of a paid vice-chancellor is quite essential in the early stages so as to bring the university into satisfactory working order.

"The next point the critics lay emphasis upon is finance. No doubt the cry for retrenchment is insistent and is heard far and wide, but any amount spent on education is an investment for the future. There is one aspect of this question which the Government may well bear in mind. It is this. Madras is even now the headquarters of a university. If all the available public funds are spent in developing the imposing structure of a residential teaching university here alone, perhaps the Government will plead poverty of funds when other centres in the Presidency demand the establishment of separate universities. Therefore the Government should stimulate civic pride in the citizens of Madras so that, as in the West, the merchant princes might come forward with donations and endowments to meet the enormous expenditure that a teaching university involves.

"Lastly, there is the question of the mufassal colleges. This is a point on which the critics are at one and their fears are well grounded. Even as it is, the mufassal colleges are at a disadvantage. The university is domineered over by the Madras educationists alone. Much more will be the case under the new dispensation. This will entail a good deal of hardship on pupils, all of whom cannot afford to meet the expenses of education at the very seat of the university. The cry for a separate university in the northern districts dates back to 1907. The people of the north have no quarrel with the new University Bill for Madras; rather they congratulate their brethren in Madras for the initiative which the hon. the Minister for Education has taken in their behalf. Now the people in the north appeal to the Minister not to jettison the scheme for the institution of a university in the north.

"With these few remarks, I heartily support the Madras University Bill."

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Rao Bahadur M. C. RAJA:—“Mr. President, Sir, I am sure the Council 1 p.m. will not be surprised if I view this question from the stand-

point of elementary education which is my special field of work and of the depressed classes whose interests it is my birthright to defend. Others may view it as it affects the independence of colleges in Madras or the importance of those in the mufassal. Some may consider the question whether the Bill is revolutionary in character or evolutionary. Some may question the possibility of the Bill achieving its professed aims. All will view it however from the standpoint of finance and ask whether it is not a costly experiment, whether the game is worth the candle, and above all whether there is enough candle to keep the game going. I am sorry my revered professor the Rev. Meston, who so vehemently supported the Bill yesterday, did not consider the financial aspect of the question. It is the duty of each and every member of this Council to see if there is sufficient money to push through the scheme successfully. Where is all the money to come from for the hostels and the laboratories and the professors' quarters, the university professorships and the technological institutes which are necessary for converting the existing examining university with its affiliated colleges partly residential into a purely residential and purely teaching university which will absorb and swallow the existing colleges in Madras to constitute itself at their expense into a teaching and residential university? In this connexion one doubt rises in my mind which I hope the hon. the Minister in charge would kindly try to solve. The Government colleges impart no religious education but they are allowed to dip their hands freely into the public purse. But others get a large portion of their support from religious bodies in England, Scotland and America, not to speak of those which derive income from endowments made by religiously minded individuals in India. Does the hon. the Minister cherish the hope that such bodies and such individuals would continue to feed any of these colleges when they have become constituent parts of his new-fashioned university? What provision does he make for allowing such colleges to make their peculiar contribution to the moral and spiritual culture of India? Does the hon. Minister who has conceived and brought forth this Bill imagine that without any such appeal the constituent colleges or the university will be able to draw money from people's pockets? I can understand the offering of memberships and of life-memberships will become sufficiently seductive when the university has succeeded in establishing itself in the veneration of the people or in capturing their imagination or in appealing to their highest instincts. What glamour will this new university have to attract the vanity of persons whose sole qualification to be members or life-members will be, that they have money to part with for this more or less legitimate purpose? I am afraid that the Minister's hope that he will be able to attract benefactions is not one justified by past experience. The money will have to come from the Government or to put it the other way the Government will have to bear the burden of having to feed this white elephant of higher education, namely, the re-organized University of Madras City with provincial affiliated colleges. And this at a time when there is no immediate prospect of an overflowing exchequer. And even if at any time there should be money enough to spare in the Government purse for education, what branch of education has the largest and most immediate claim upon the Government? Is it higher education, or secondary education with vocational training, or elementary education? What is

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the order of political and democratic importance in which these branches of education should be fed out of the public purse? Is it not elementary education, compulsory and universal, first and foremost, and then secondary education next only in importance to primary education, and last and least in its claims on the public purse is university education, the expenses of which all wise and just statesmen have felt should be met out of public benefaction? It is easy to say that the claims of higher education should not be brought into rivalry with those of elementary and secondary education. But we live in a world of limited means in which arithmetic plays the tyrant with our desires and ambitions. If we spend large sums upon higher education, every little item of which is costly (with the sum spent upon erecting a laboratory one might erect and manage a hundred primary schools for the benefit of the poor and the ignorant), very little will be left for elementary and secondary education. This goes without saying. In this connexion there are so many things requiring to be done for improving and expanding elementary education. The status and pay of elementary schoolmasters require to be improved. My hon. friend Mr. Patro said that the salaries of elementary teachers have been raised. May I ask him, if he is aware of the fact that his daffadar gets better salary than an elementary school teacher? It is not for financial reasons only that I plead for elementary education. For university education to produce its best results on the people it should be the main object of consideration in all legislative measures that there should be a foundation of universal elementary education. It will not do for a few municipalities here and there to have resolved to introduce compulsory primary education; nor will it do for the Educational Minister of to-day to profess equal, if not more, zeal for primary education than for university education. The hon. Mr. Patro may not be the Education Minister always nor will he be the same Education Minister as he is to-day. What is wanted is that for at least a whole generation or a quarter of a century compulsory education should have diffused its blessings of universal intelligence throughout the various communities of South India before large expenditure out of public funds on the university education could be justified or become popularly fruitful.

"When retrenchment in the salaries of schoolmasters and inspecting agency and the curtailing of grants to schools and colleges is the order of the day, to think of incurring new expenditure on a large scale on university re-organization seems to me to argue misplaced zeal. If only the Education Minister would show half the zeal to incur financial responsibility on behalf of elementary and secondary education as he does on behalf of university education he will earn the undying gratitude of countless generations of the common people including the depressed classes whose interests are most intimately connected with the introduction and the sustained and zealous maintenance of compulsory elementary education. I do not forget that the hon. the Minister for Education has been very solicitous of the welfare of my community—more solicitous than his colleagues in the Ministry. The hon. Mr. Venkatareddi Nayudu's sympathy with my community is like a light hidden under a bushel. As for the hon. the Raja of Panagal, I need not sing his praises in this respect, since they have recently been sung loudly from house-tops and hill-tops, in the *rajagostham* of a ministerial tour from Malabar to Vellore.

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"If my vote depended merely on personal considerations of gratitude and appreciation, I should certainly vote for Mr. Patro's Bill. But I owe a duty to my people and when I find that their immediate and distant progress is bound up with elementary education, how can I support a Bill whose effect, sure and certain, will be to divert funds which ought to be spent on education suitable to their needs, and which will thus lead to the neglect of my peoples' educational interests?

"I cannot help looking upon the introduction of this Bill as a reversal of the original policy and as a departure from original principles of the party now in power.

"One of the first things which Dr. Nayar did in elucidating the special policy of the non-Brahman party was to write a series of articles in *Justice* entitled 'The social iniquities of the educational policy,'—in which he pointed out how overwhelmingly disproportionately large sums were spent upon the higher education of a comparatively small number, while the total sum spent upon secondary education was utterly inadequate to the needs of the country and that which was spent upon elementary education was paltry and meagre, not to say niggardly and beggarly.

"Then again when in the budget debate of 1921 the ministerial section of the House were challenged to say how their policy differed from that of the rest of the House, the hon. the Minister for Development stood up and valiantly pointed out that while their opponents were most insistent upon the claims of university education, he and his followers laid greater emphasis upon elementary education which benefited the many as distinct from the few. This was two years ago when the party had not forgotten its democratic principles. What has happened in the meantime, I do not know. What need is there for this reorganization of a university which has not been doing badly, I do not know either.

"The only thing I know is this: that the party now in power having succeeded in placing the depressed classes under the trampling feet of the rich and the well-to-do by making their economic and their social progress depend upon the sweet will and tender mercy of local opinion brought to bear upon the District Collector—having once I say tasted the blood of the depressed classes—is hungering for more of their blood—this time by crippling their mental growth and educational progress through the strategic move of a measure intended to benefit the higher and the higher middle classes at the expense of the lower middle and the lower classes.

"I cannot help looking upon this measure as one step forward towards a new oligarchic goal and one step further away from the realization of democracy in this Presidency. As it is, the Indianization of the services in this Presidency will mean more and more the filling of important posts with the friends and followers of the caste-ridden leaders and the exclusion of the depressed classes from schools on the score of deference to so-called respectable public opinion. The process of developing the non-Brahman movement into an oligarchic and anti-democratic movement will be complete, when funds which might be spent on elementary education are spent on university reform.

"In conclusion let me confess to you, however much I am grieved beyond measure for my people, that all this is the direct realization of the fears we entertained when the Reforms Scheme was first promulgated. Listen to the almost prophetic words used on this very subject of education. When the

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Adi-Dravida Jana Sabha of which Mr. P. V. Subrahmanya Pillai is the venerable president was asked to give its views on the Montagu-Chelmsford report, it said :—

'We are averse in the present condition of public opinion and in the present stage of social and moral progress and with the ideas which now rule the social relations of communities to the establishment of a dual Government in this country. We are therefore opposed to any department of the administration being transferred to popular control. We would particularly protest against education being vested in Ministers. These Ministers would look after the interests of their particular community and either neglect us or train us in such a way that we may look upon them for ever as our masters!'

"This was in 1918 and now we are in the last but one month of 1922."

Mr. T. O. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—“No one can feel anything except a sense of satisfaction for the objects which have been ex-

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pressed at the commencement of the Bill, viz., to create a teaching and a residential university with an academic atmosphere in places where they are absent. But in attaining these objects, what are the means that have been held out in the Bill, how will they be achieved and what would be the consequences of the enactment of this Bill into an Act? These are the more important questions. In this we have only a bare frame-work of a proposed enactment, which has yet to be supplemented, by statutes, ordinances and other rules and all these have yet to be worked out for attaining these ends. We have not got any report from any select body of experts in education and educational control as to how they expect to make the university express in and through these colleges, how this present system of teaching in the metropolitan colleges is to be continued and at the same time how the inducements are to be held out to them to specialise in particular departments of study so that there may be a co-operation among and a federation of schools and colleges, each dealing with some subjects different from the rest so that by co-ordinating the sum total may be attained. The hon. the Minister, in his opening speech, stated that he awaits the report of the committee appointed to inquire into secondary education. We are called upon to consider the University Bill wherein a provision is made that the entrance to the university will be by the Intermediate examination and that the intermediate course will be taken away from the university. In that event the second grade colleges will become the high schools. We have no report as to how these schemes are going to be worked out in harmony. In these circumstances the question naturally arises as to what will be the effect of this enactment if passed into law upon the higher education here in Madras or upon the higher education in the mufassal. There is such a great nervousness—it is not ill-grounded—so much so that many principals of the first-grade colleges have sent up a memorial to the Government even after the explanation given by the hon. the Minister at Trichinopoly. One thing we find, viz., that here a system of diarchy in education is foreshadowed. A number of colleges in Madras and neighbourhood within a radius of ten miles are grouped together and all the other colleges which are in the mufassal are separately grouped. The Madras colleges are said to be the constituent colleges with certain privileges and they are the members of the university. The other colleges are merely allowed the privilege of coming in so that their

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students may be examined, as it were, by a foreign body. So far as the teaching functions and the benefits of higher teaching are concerned the mufassal colleges in effect will not have anything worth mentioning. There is a hope held out that inducements will be given even to mufassal colleges that they may become in course of time university centres. The hope will not be easy of fulfilment and the time may be so distant that it may be left out of practical consideration. As pointed out by Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar, as a necessary effect of this Bill an impression goes abroad that Madras education will be superior as it undoubtedly will be, and the mufassal education will be inferior. It will then be difficult to raise the tone and status of the colleges in the mufassal so that they may have in their turn universities in their midst. In Madras itself the objects of a residential and a teaching university and of an academic atmosphere are sought to be attained by making all the colleges constituent colleges or parts of the university. It is difficult to understand how this would be achieved.

"The creation of an academic atmosphere is not one that can be attained by a legislative enactment. Academic atmosphere is not created by the will of a few persons but by the special work of certain people of genius devoted to the cause of education. Look at the provisions of the Act. Whereas the Senate would be composed among others of rich people and rich associations, the Bill is conspicuous by the absence of any provision for representation of academic bodies such as the Andraparishat, or the Tamil Sangam, or the Medical Association or the Engineering Association or the Teachers' Association or similar bodies. An academic atmosphere, if it is to be created without representation from these bodies, will be a peculiar kind of academic atmosphere. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to expect a divergent opinion even among the supporters of the Bill. By analysing the views which are expressed here and outside, it is difficult to find in what points they are all agreed. My friend Mr. Palmer in supporting the Bill referred to one point. He said that the cost of education even in Madras will be increased. He also stated that, even at present Madras education was better and this Bill would make that education still better and more efficient. There will be an inducement to the influx of students into Madras. But what are the special provisions for the increased number of students in Madras? Are they going to provide them with hostels? Are they going to create more colleges, so that the teacher and the taught may be in close touch with one another with reference to the subjects they study and work for? If the existing colleges alone are to be maintained, then are there going to be inducements for these colleges so that, in their turn, they may be centres of future universities? These are points which deserve consideration. With reference to the university constitution itself, it is an examining board so far as the mufassal is concerned, and a teaching institution so far as Madras city is concerned. Is it necessary, that this aspect of the matter which seems to be the main principle of the Bill should be insisted on. Dr. Miller, than whom there is no greater authority on south Indian education, does not take the view which this Bill takes. This is gathered from a letter which is published in the last month's issue of the Christian College Magazine. He says :

'At the very outset the university ought to accept all fairly qualified Arts colleges whether in the mufassal or in the city as potential constituent colleges of

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the university. Its primary and chief aim ought to be to do all it can by every means in its power to give all its constituent colleges thoroughly efficient education whatever they profess to do. It should be noted, as I mean to proceed to show, that there is no need whatever that any constituent college whether of the ordinary or of the vocational type should be located in the City of Madras. Such colleges may be recognized in the mufassal as well as there. Suppose now that university is equipped with efficient constituent institutions, whether Arts or vocational colleges. Their aim will be to encourage research in every direction open to it and to carry on post-graduate classes as a chief means of doing this.'

"The opinions here expressed by the veteran educationist of south India, who may be almost said to be the father of higher education here, may not be in exact harmony with the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. But where the Sadler Commission and Dr. Miller differ, I believe, this House will be prepared to follow the opinion of Dr. Miller who has first-hand knowledge of the conditions of Madras education. If that be an acceptable view as it undoubtedly is and if that principle is introduced in the Bill, much of the animosity that is now exhibited by the mufassal colleges, who are naturally nervous, will go."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—"Sir, I rise to support the principle of this Bill. One of the main objections that we have heard against this Bill both in this House and outside it, is that, if this Bill is passed, the graduates that will be the products of the affiliated colleges and the constituent colleges will differ considerably in their capacity. That, I submit, Sir, is the most formidable objection that we have heard so far against this Bill. It seems to me, Sir, that that objection is somewhat exaggerated. I do not for one moment mean to say that there will be no difference in the efficiency of the graduates who will be the products of the constituent and of the affiliated colleges. As a matter of fact, is there no difference now between the graduates who are the products of the Madras colleges and the graduates who are the products of the mufassal colleges? Even now this difference exists and this difference, to my mind, cannot be very much greater in future than it is at present. At present, no doubt, there are very many eminent professors in the mufassal colleges, professors who are at least as competent as professors in the City of Madras. But, Sir, it cannot be denied that, taken as a whole, the staff, professors, lecturers and demonstrators in the City of Madras are superior to the staff, professors, lecturers and demonstrators of the mufassal colleges. Naturally the graduates who get their instruction from the professors in the metropolis have a wider outlook and a broader vision than the graduates of the mufassal colleges have. There is nothing strange in that. As I said, hereafter, even if this Bill is passed—I hope it will be passed—and when these constituent colleges and affiliated colleges come into existence, the products thereof cannot differ materially from their present position. In the first place, sufficient safeguards are provided in this Bill itself for minimising this difference as much as possible. For instance, provision is made for the constitution of an academic council and also for the constitution of a council of affiliated colleges. The academic council will take care that so far as the academic condition of this University is concerned, there is as little difference as possible between the mufassal colleges and the constituent colleges. Again, the council of

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affiliated colleges will contain representatives from all the mufassal colleges and certainly they are there to take care of the interests of the mufassal colleges and it cannot for a moment be doubted that they will take very great care that the affiliated colleges do not in any way suffer in efficiency or otherwise. Then again, so far as teaching itself is concerned, there is provision made in the Bill for this purpose, and that is that university professors who are appointed by the university and who ordinarily reside in Madras should go to the affiliated colleges and deliver lectures there. On the other hand, professors who are employed in the affiliated colleges and who ordinarily reside in the mufassal have the privilege of going to the constituent colleges and delivering lectures there, with the result that there will be a constant flow of professors from the constituent colleges to the affiliated colleges and of professors from the affiliated colleges to the constituent colleges in the city. They will, by their lectures, teaching and instruction, equalize the quality of teaching as far as possible in the various institutions. No doubt, the ideal is to establish different universities in different linguistic centres. Madras may be taken as one centre for the Tamil University. Another university may be established for the Kerala Desa, another for the Andra Desa, and so on. Attempts are being made in Travancore for the establishment of a university there, and I believe they will bear fruit probably in the course of two or three years. That, no doubt, is the ideal, and, if it is possible, the ideal has to be followed. But then, is it possible, is it within the domain of practical politics, to establish four or five universities simultaneously? If it is not possible, is it reasonable to wait till eternity when it may be possible to establish different universities according to language basis in different centres? Is it not more reasonable to make a start now instead of waiting, as we have done practically for the last 60 years? The existing University of Madras and other older Universities of India were established in 1857 and practically for the last 60 years we have made no appreciable progress whatever. Is it not more reasonable, Sir, to make a move at once, however slow it may be and however little it may be, and to begin some innovation in a progressive direction, so that that movement may ultimately progress and result in the establishment of different universities, say four or five universities, in the different language centres of this Presidency? Even supposing that we at once establish—of course, this is an impossible thing—four or five universities in the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and other centres, can it reasonably be expected that all these universities will have the same efficiency? Is it not a well-known phenomenon that in the world at present the different universities have different degrees of efficiency? It is a well-known fact that Madras has been in the forefront of education and that Madras graduates are better than mufassal graduates. If different universities are established, there must be difference in their efficiency. We know that there is difference between the London University and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge."

At this stage the House adjourned for lunch.

The House re-assembled after lunch at 2-30 p.m., M.R.Ry. Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI Avargal, Deputy President, presiding.

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :— When we rose for lunch I was dwelling upon the difference that exists and must naturally exist between

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the products of one university and another all over the world. Even if it were possible to establish four or five universities simultaneously in different parts of the Presidency, when the universities in the mufassal move forward, the university in the metropolis will also be moving forward. When the head moves forward, the tail also must move with it; but the difference between the head and the tail will be always there. So that, even after the lapse of generations, the Madras University will obviously be in the forefront of other universities, which is but inevitable.

"My friend Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar said yesterday, and some other members who spoke this morning agreed with him, that if the university contemplated under this Bill is established, there will be a rush of students from the mufassal to the Madras colleges and the mufassal colleges will be depleted or at any rate they will have only the refuse of students. I am afraid that is an unnecessary fear. As a matter of fact, even at present more than 50 per cent of the students are in the colleges at Madras. Certainly the cost of living is not going to be less than what it is now, after the establishment of the new university. Money and brains do not always go together, and in the mufassal there will be many bright students, and they will continue to be in the mufassal colleges because of their poverty and there is no fear of their coming up and crowding in the colleges in Madras. My friend Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Ayyangar invoked a high authority, viz., Dr. Miller, against this Bill. Every one admits that the name of Dr. Miller must carry weight for all time and deservedly so. I have read his letter carefully and I think the interpretation put upon it by my friend is not the correct one. He has read only some isolated and detached passages. The letter read as a whole is not against the present Bill. This Bill is in fact based upon the three resolutions of the Senate passed in March 1921, so that there is the high authority of the Senate in support of this Bill. Dr. Miller is not against the Bill and the authority of the Senate which consists of many eminent persons in the educational world is in favour of this Bill. I know that very honest and bona fide fears have been expressed by my friend Sir Desika Achari and my friend Mr. Raja. They are afraid that money will not be forthcoming for the benefit of the affiliated colleges in the mufassal and for elementary education. I may assure them that education being a transferred subject, this Council can allot funds for mufassal colleges and for elementary education. My friend Mr. Raja was unnecessarily importing irrelevant consideration into the discussion. I do not hold a brief for the hon. the Raja of Panagal. But, because Mr. Raja referred to Malabar, and as one coming from that place, I think it my duty to say one or two words. The hon. the Raja of Panagal has explained the policy of the Government in different matters to the people in Malabar, where he has recently toured, and they were perfectly convinced that the whole Government, inclusive of Ministers and Executive Councillors, had the welfare of the people at heart. Irrespective of caste or creed, the hon. the Raja of Panagal has created a very good impression in Malabar in his favour."

Mr. B. P. DEVARAJULU NAYUDU :—"Sir, I rise to support this Bill, and in doing so I may say that this Bill is somewhat overdue. I am no educational expert, nor have I experience in matters educational. But only from a layman's point of view I consider that the Bill, as it is proposed to be introduced is one which is very necessary in the present stage of the evolution of our

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country. This Bill, Sir, is not one that has come out of the imagination of one brain. This has been the result of the joint collaboration of a body of experts whose experience, sincerity and integrity no one can doubt or gainsay. That is a great point in favour of the Bill. This Bill is, in fact, the embodiment of the considered opinion of several educational bodies. It is a result of recommendations on the Report of the Sadler Commission, considered by the Senate and again by a committee which has been specially deputed to consider the question. In fact, this Bill is based upon the very decision of March 1921 of the Senate. If this decision was good some time ago, that it should become totally useless and unnecessary at present time, is what one cannot understand. Sir, I have read the Bill as a layman would. I have read its aims and objects; they are so very lucidly, so very clearly and unequivocally expressed in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that to reiterate the salient features of the Bill would probably be wasting the time of this House. The appeal that was made by the hon. the Minister in elucidating the details of the Bill was sufficient, I think, to convince many persons who were probably wavering in their minds about the benefits of the Bill. This Bill, before it was brought to this Council, had been before the public for a considerable length of time. It had been discussed on platforms and in the Press, and every possible shade of opinion, adverse or favourable to it, was expressed. Criticisms from sources, interested and disinterested, and from places with local bias, and without bias have been before the public. There was enough time and opportunity for the people to understand the Bill in all its aspects and in all its hearings. And I do not think we are here to-day for the first time to consider the merits or defects of the Bill. While that is the case I think there should be no difficulty to understand the aims and principles of this Bill, which aims at the establishment of a teaching and residential university.

"The idea of a residential university is certainly not a foreign one. I think in olden days, in the Buddhist period, such universities 2.45 p.m. had been in vogue. There were many centres of learning of which the famous Nalanda was one. As already referred to by one hon. Member the ancient system based on the joint living of Guru and Sishya is very congenial and suitable for our country. In fact, the excellence of the old institutions was due more on account of that principle, and to-day we are only trying to adopt that principle and see whether we can advance along that line. Sir, several objections have been brought before this Council. Such objections, as have been pointed out by previous speakers are, I think, concentrated in one main principle, namely, that if we have to go forward, let us go all along the line and simultaneously let us not have any differences. Let us establish centres of universities wherever we can possibly do so; let not Madras take precedence or the right of monopoly. I think it is more or less a sort of alarm and apprehension that has sprung up in the minds of some people which has brought forth all these objections. It struck me, as it has struck Mr. Krishnan Nayar, that all these objections are highly exaggerated and purely sentimental. There is not much substance behind them. Even supposing that this University Bill was passed and a small beginning made and worked out, it is not likely that it would change the atmosphere of the institutions concentrated around it all of a sudden, or in the near future. All those calamities and catastrophes apprehended by my

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hon. friend Mr. Desika Acharyar and Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar are, after all, things which are more imaginary than real. It was very well pointed out by my friend Mr. Krishnan Nayar that, after all, even in the present state of affairs taking the mufassal institutions and those that exist in the city into consideration, nobody can dare to say that the mufassal institutions have such equipments and facilities as those that are provided for in the city institutions. They have exceptional facilities and just as it is the fortune of some people to have exceptional fortunes, even so it is the fortune of the Presidency town to have a residential university. The Madras colleges are for the most part filled up with mufassal students. If that is so, how is this change going to affect the educational conditions in the mufassal as the majority of students who are taking instruction in colleges in the City of Madras are only mufassal students? The mufassal colleges cannot hope to be centres of university in the near future, nor can they hope to rise to the same level as the university constituent colleges of Madras. There has been that difference of standards of efficiency probably even between colleges in Madras itself. So far as mufassal colleges are concerned, there are many very good students who come from mufassal colleges. In fact, they adorn many important posts in the administration of this country and do their work very efficiently. In this connexion, I may give an instance. I took my degree in history in the Maharaja's College of Mysore though I had prosecuted my earlier studies in the Christian College at Madras. In the history section there were only 25 students and I may inform the House that under the careful guidance of the professor of history Mr. Denham who bestowed every care on his students, all the 25 students passed. So, it is not the lecturing, nor is it the hearing of the lecture upon which the efficiency depends, but it depends upon the individual care and attention that the students receive from their educators. Therefore, I do not think there is after all much difference between city and mufassal institutions so far as the question of the attainment of knowledge is concerned. As I said already, some of the hon. Members seem to be under some imaginary difficulties which could be very easily settled by bringing in provisions and modifications in the Select Committee."

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—"Sir, the mover of this Bill who is himself a product of the Madras University neglects the opinion of the Madras University. At the Senate meeting, important educationists, educational experts and scientists have voted against the Bill. For instance, the present Director of Public Instruction Mr. Grieve, the Principal of the Presidency College Mr. Smith, the Principal of the Law College Mr. Arthur Davies, the Principals of St. Joseph's College and S.P.G. College and the Directors of Public Instruction in Travancore and Cochin have voted against this Bill."

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATEO :—"If the hon. Member had heard my speech he would have known that the Principals of the City colleges who were consulted have unanimously agreed to the principles of this Bill. That was stated in my speech."

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—"I have heard and read the speech of the hon. the Minister. On the whole the Senate have voted against the Bill. Whatever may be the influence of the Minister to carry through this Bill or his power in the House, that the opinion of high educationists such as I have enumerated should be ignored by this Bill is anything but proper."

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Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—“ My hon. friend has told us that some distinguished people have voted against the Bill. I request him to give us the exact terms of the resolution by which they have voted against the Bill.”

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—“ I want to know whether this is a point of order. Dr. Miller, a great educational authority, is not in favour of the Bill. If there is anybody in this Presidency whose opinion ought to be respected it is the opinion of the Senate and the University. That is my first point. If the Minister for Education has improved or amended his Bill, he ought to have sent it back to the Senate and got their consent in the matter. Without doing so, he has undertaken to introduce the Bill in the Council which is anything but proper. Then, Sir, there is the question of finance. The Sadler Commission has roughly estimated that the cost of a teaching university will be 12 lakhs. A sum of Rs. 3,25,000 has been shown in the Bill. What are we to do for the balance? How is the hon. the Minister going to finance his scheme? Even if he is able to finance his scheme, don't we require money for elementary and secondary education? The provision made for compulsory education will have to be increased. More funds will be required for the expansion of elementary education. The salaries of elementary teachers have been graded and much improvement has been effected. He does not say how much money has been allotted in the budget for secondary education. As for secondary education he simply says that a committee has been appointed and he is waiting for its report. Then, Sir, I do admit that there is room for reform in our Madras University. But some change is not reform. There ought to be a definite change and for that change we want plenty of money. Then again the recommendations of the Sadler Commission are not applicable to Madras. They are applicable to the Calcutta University rather than to the Madras University. I want to know what the character of the teaching university is to be. Does the university undertake the teaching work and are the professors going to be dubbed as university professors? What is the provision that has been made for the location of the hostels? As it is, the City of Madras is overcrowded. From my experience as a medical practitioner, I know the hostels in Madras have not got proper accommodation. Is the hon. the Minister going to convert all the existing hostels into university lodging places? All these reforms require a good deal of money. The money required for these purposes should be provided before he brings the Bill before the House. Men who are authorities on the subject, men who have spent their lifetime in the field of education and men who are educational experts have come to the conclusion that this Bill has been introduced too early and that we may wait for some more time. Primary education should be extended before a Bill for the reorganization of the university is brought before the Council. In the City of Madras it is noticed from the census that 70 per cent of the school-going population is illiterate. When such is the state of primary education, it is surprising to see that a man who stands for democratic principles, and who is a Minister belonging to the party which works for democratic principles, should bring in a Bill of this kind.”

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—“ The Madras Corporation and its members are responsible for the expansion of elementary education in the

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City of Madras. The Government have no responsibility in the matter unless the Madras Corporation in the discharge of its responsibility to the illiterate people brings in such a motion in the Corporation."

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—" If the Madras Corporation has not levied any tax for the spread of elementary education, I am not responsible for it.

" People coming from the mufassal directly, from Ganjam, Tinnevelly and such other places will have to bear their own share of the cost of the establishment of this residential university."

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—" There are students of Berham-pur, Ganjam and other places who are reading in the colleges of Madras."

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—" That is not a point of order."

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—" That is correcting a mistake."

Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU :—" That is not a point of order."

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—" I must finish my speech. The hon. the Minister can reserve what he has to say till it is time for him to reply.

" Then, Sir, it is very hard on the poor people of Ganjam, Tinnevelly and such distant places to have to go to Madras to continue their studies. Generally most of the people who take to university education are very poor and have very small means. They are not in favour of such a costly system of education as that provided in a residential university.

" Then another objectionable feature of the Bill is the increase in the strength of the ex-officio members, and the unlimited power of the visitor and the chancellor, the Governor-General and the Governor. In fact the Governor-General or the Governor may be a very great man, but what authority is he on educational matters, though he may be a great ruler of a country or province ? "

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—" On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I may say that the visitor was not in the Bill at first, but was introduced at the suggestion of the Government of India as a result of their consideration of the Bill. They consider that if the Governor is a chancellor, provision should be made for the Governor-General being visitor. Hence the present provision about the visitor."

At this stage the Deputy President vacated and the hon. the President took the chair.

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—" Whatever it may be, Sir, it is there, and I am entitled to say what I think of it. The chancellor of the university has an extraordinary power. He is an autocrat. He can do and undo things, and the university ought not to be fettered like that. Another thing is this. The vice-chancellor is a full-time paid man. I do not see any reason why, when we have been going on for so many years without a paid vice-chancellor, he should be paid now. There is a strong rumour in the city that it is intended for a man in the party, that it is a berth for a man in the party. I do not know how far it is true, and I hope it is untrue.

" Then, Sir, there is another very extraordinary proposal in the Bill, that is, that any one who pays Rs. 25,000 or Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 5,000 can send somebody into the university. What is the use of sending a man with no

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educational qualification but with plenty of money? If the Minister wants to encourage people to pay money, the best thing would be to create some titles like Rao Sahib, Rao Bahadur or Diwan Bahadur. The man who pays Rs. 10,000 will be glad to have some title. . . . ”

Mr. O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR :—“ May I inquire ‘ how much has the hon. Member paid for the Rao Sahib which he has got ? ’ (hear, hear !) ”

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—“ I did not say that titles are paid for, nor that I got the title by paying for it. I said that instead of this thing, if the Education Minister wants to appreciate the services of the people who have contributed towards educational purposes, let him create some titles and call them donors by such titles. I know that there are many titles, and there are many title-holders in this country who paid for them. I myself did not pay for mine.”

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—“ Nor have I paid for mine, Sir.”

The hon. Rai Bahadur K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“ Will the hon. Member give instances, Sir? Attacking people behind their back is a thing that ought not to occur.”

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—“ I think it is unfair, and if I may be permitted to say so, it is cowardly to say that people obtain titles by paying money to Government.”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ I do not think we can now go into the general question of titles, and I believe what the hon. Member meant was that he did not pay for any title, but he concedes that other people may do so (laughter). That is his line of argument; it is only a suggestion for the Government. They need not act upon it; it is not binding upon anybody.”

The hon. the RAJA OF PANAGAL :—“ If I may be permitted to remind the House, the hon. Member did say, ‘ I know there are people who have paid for their titles ’.”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ That by itself does not make it wrong. He has not said that any Member of this House (loud laughter) has paid for any title, that any title-holder sitting here has indulged in that practice. The position that he takes up is probably that people outside have done so. That may or may not be right, but he is entitled to say so. The other day in England charges were levelled openly against title-holders in the House of Commons, and I do not think those charges were ruled out of order, presumably because those charges did not specifically refer to Members of the House. If the hon. Member says that there is any Member of this House who has purchased his title, I am prepared to call him to order.”

The hon. Rai Bahadur K. VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU :—“ May I submit, Sir, that if it is a case of Members of this House, there would be an opportunity for the Member concerned to defend himself; whereas whether an attack behind the back of people who are not here and who have not got the privilege of defending themselves, and who have not got even the privilege of going into court (because the proceedings of this House are protected under the law), can be allowed to be made here, is for you, Sir, to decide, and also to consider whether such a statement can be allowed with consistency in this House.”

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The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ That is rather a broad proposition, namely, that a Member of this House should not attack people outside because those people are outside. It would mean that the only objects of his attack should be people inside the House (laughter). That proposition would completely block us.

“ Of course, all this is a matter of good sense. The allegation, generally that titles are purchased, has been freely bandied about in England. For I was there, and, in fact, it was stated that the man who made the attacks did it in Parliament where he was protected. One man said somewhere outside the House : ‘ If he made the allegations here, I would repel them.’ But the man replied : ‘ No, I will confine myself to making the allegations only within the House of Commons ’ (laughter). ”

Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU :—“ May I say, Sir, that in that case the allegation was against a particular person in the House. That is my recollection of that incident. He made the allegation against a particular person ; then, afterwards he made a general allegation that the Government of the day were really selling honours. It was really proposed to appoint a special committee to go into the matter.”

The hon. the RAJA OF PANAGAL :—“ Is the hon. Member prepared to say that he did not mean any member in this House ? ”

Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU :—“ I should like to know whether he made a statement that any member of this House purchased any title.”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ When he has not made any such statement, we cannot ask him whether he made or intends to make a statement like that (laughter). If I were in the position of the hon. Member, I would not accept the challenge ; the hon. Member would be doing a very unwise thing if he did so.

“ Now that we have discussed this question of titles, I think we may go to the University Bill (laughter). ”

Rao Sahib U. RAMA RAO :—“ Then again, Sir, there is an unlimited power of appointment vested in the Chancellor. Only twenty-five members are to be elected by the registered graduates, out of a number of 200 or 250. Ten members are to be elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Council, that is those who are in fact nominated by the Ministry in power. There is no representation for the tax-payer as such and no representation for the teaching profession.

“ With these remarks, Sir, I think that this Bill should not be permitted to go to the Select Committee or passed.”

Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—“ Mr. President, I find myself really unable to give an unqualified support to the Bill before the House. The Bill is doubtless ambitious and in so far as it seeks to create an academic atmosphere that does not now exist, it is a thing that would be quite welcome. But I fully share the doubts expressed and the fears entertained by Sir T. Desika Achariyar and other members who spoke after him about the future of the mufassal colleges. The future of the mufassal colleges under this Bill would, I venture to submit, be a very sorry spectacle indeed. In proportion to the development of the constituent colleges in the city,

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there would be a decline, I fancy, in the popularity, usefulness and reputation of the mufassal colleges, which I submit is neither desirable nor conducive to the interests of higher education. It is a matter of common knowledge that nowadays more than 50 per cent of the students resort to the metropolis and once this distinction is retained between the constituted colleges and the mufassal colleges, there would be a greater tendency on the part of the student population to rush to Madras in greater numbers, with the result that the university would be faced with the difficulty of establishing more colleges for the students or securing greater accommodation for them. But if it is proposed to put a limit on the number of seats to be allotted, then this Bill, instead of helping higher education, would have the indubitable effect of turning back a number of persons who are anxious to get into the portals of learning to gain knowledge at their expense. Once the distinction between the constituent colleges and the mufassal colleges, with respect to professorial chairs, special courses of training, and also the face value to be attached to the hall mark of the university, once this distinction is borne in mind, to that extent there would be a decline in the reputation and the good name of the mufassal colleges. In the meantime, I venture to submit, these mufassal colleges would languish for want of support and encouragement, and in course of time they may cease to exist. Mr. Devarajulu Nayudu has stated that the fears expressed by some of the critics are unfounded or that they proceeded mainly upon sentiment and he also stated, if I remember aright, that some objections have been exaggerated. I venture to think that the picture that has been drawn by my friend Sir T. Desika Achariyar has not at all been overdrawn and, though old, some of us find that in every day life we ought to give effect to sentiment. Oftentimes sentiments rule the world and there is no use of brushing aside a point on the ground that it is governed by sentimental considerations, as such considerations are often allowed to play a large and leading part in the shaping of so many things and I appeal to the hon. Minister for Education who I daresay is gifted with lofty and generous motives to have greater interest in the development of the mufassal colleges and to so recast the Bill, so mould it, so refashion it as to make it possible for the mufassal colleges to form a nucleus of future university. Then his name will go down to posterity as their saviour. But if the Bill is to go before the country in this form and if it is to find a place in the Statute Book in the present form, I feel that instead of taking a long step in the direction of higher education, this Bill would be sounding the death knell of the mufassal colleges."

Mr. G. VANDANAM :—“ Mr. President, for a long time I had a doubt in
my mind as to what we have done in this House to justify
3-15 p.m. our existence. Have we really passed any legislative
measure of which we can really be proud? Now, after this Madras University Bill and the Bill for State Aid to Industries had been brought before this House, I said to myself, ‘here are two Bills for which the House can justly make a claim for having passed some good legislation.’ Further, there was such a stir all over the country when the report of the Sadler Commission was published that the country was going to be profited by this report and that a great forward step would be taken for the educational development of the country. Consequently, teachers’ meetings and educationists’ meetings were held all over the Presidency; resolutions were passed to the effect that Government should take steps to remodel the

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education of the Madras Presidency on the lines of the report of the Sadler Commission. Also, when we came into this House resolutions after resolutions have been tabled to the effect that we must take steps to remodel our education on the lines of that Committee's report, and among our friends Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar was the first who brought such resolutions.

" Again the highest tribute that has ever been paid to this Bill was from the Senate of the Madras University. As has been said, the Madras University did not vote against this Bill but they paid a high compliment to the principles involved in this Bill and said that not only one university of that type should be established but also other universities of the same type. That is a high tribute which any academic body can pay to this Bill. Now, the Madras University is not a business body and it is left to the Legislative Council whether one university should be started or more of this type.

" Now, I have very great pleasure in supporting this Bill for this reason, that it gives a big national outlook to all the students that come under the influence of the new university. Hitherto the students were bred up in a narrow outlook. That is why we have communal differences, communal oppression and depression and the cry that the depressed classes have not been taken care of. If the students of the new university come under the direct influence of and under the direct personal contact with the professors and lecturers, there can be no doubt that the outlook of the students would be broad, wide and national. Consequently, not the interests of one community or of one party, but the interests of the whole country would be safeguarded. This Bill, if passed into law, would give a wider outlook to all those people that come under the influence of the new university.

" Another reason why I support the Bill is that it comes as a saviour to rescue education from the hands of lawyers. Hitherto university education, or rather the Madras University, was greatly dominated by the influence and activities of lawyers. Now, if effect is given to the principles underlying this Bill, education would come under the influence of educational experts. It is true there is representation for lawyers, there is representation for business-men, for district boards, and there is representation for everybody, and there is also the possibility of representing every other interest by the Chancellor having such wide powers. So education is saved from the influence of amateur lawyers.

" There is another great objection which has been raised to the Bill. It has been said that the Sadler Commission estimated the cost of such a university at nine lakhs of rupees. But they did not estimate it for the Madras Presidency. Provision has, however, been made in the Bill so that benevolent people might come forward with large sums of donations. It may be asked why these gentlemen have not come forward before. It is not possible in the present university because it is very hard for anybody to feel that he is an alumnus of the university. But in the new university anybody can take interest and consequently people will come forward with money as they have come forward to support the Calcutta University. This money will be forthcoming.

" It has been said that mufassal colleges will suffer. Truly they will suffer to a certain extent. But there is a redeeming feature in that suffering. Mufassal colleges will have a better status now than ever before. They

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have got a council of their own, and there is provision for university professors to go to mufassal colleges and for mufassal professors being appointed as university lecturers. If a good university has been started or if the new Madras University is doing good work, it is not unlikely that the Andhra people would come forward to have a university of their own and many noble rajas would endow an Andhra University and before long the Andhra University might become an accomplished fact. There are the missionary bodies who would not be satisfied without a university of their own and Trichinopoly might become the seat of a missionary university. Instead of rushing all the universities together, one new university might give a stimulus to other people to establish other universities.

"As has been said, if you give more money to this university elementary education might be pushed out. Now, great work is being done by the present Minister for Education and the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government, so that elementary education might become free and compulsory in municipal and local board areas. The Council knows how they have been working together for this object. If elementary education becomes compulsory, it will benefit the depressed classes more than anybody else. Mr. Raja has said that people from hill-tops proclaim the name of the Raja of Panagal as a saviour, which shows the popularity of the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government, his great care for the depressed classes, and the way in which he has been helping them by asking the municipalities and local boards to subscribe to compulsory elementary education, thus safeguarding the interests of the depressed classes.

"Sir, this Bill, instead of pushing out the interests of the mufassal colleges, would act as an incentive for others to start universities on the same model. For the reason that it gives great stimulus and encouragement for providing the benefits of education to all classes of people, I have very great pleasure in supporting this Bill."

Mr. O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting this motion of the hon. the Minister asking for leave to introduce this Bill. So far as I gather, the scheme seeks to convert the present university which is an examining body into a residential and teaching university also conducting examinations. It seeks to harness all the available resources of the colleges in and around the city of Madras in the matter of teaching, laboratory and library facilities and hostel accommodation for use to the largest number instead of confining such facilities to students of the respective colleges. The Bill seeks to supplement the facilities available in the existing colleges by university lectures, university halls and further hostels, without, as was pointed out by the hon. the Rev. Meston, destroying the identity of the several component or constituent colleges. Sir, it seeks to bring within its ambit all the first-grade colleges and the technical colleges in the city such as the Medical, Engineering and the Law Colleges and the Teachers' College, and it seeks to bring within itself also the King Institute at Guindy, so that it may also be available for research work to be carried on by the university students.

"While there is an amount of suspicion and distrust about the usefulness of such a scheme, it may be relevant for me to read an extract from the speech of the hon. Sir Harcourt Butler at a Convocation held on the 4th of this month at the Allahabad University, which is now working under an

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Act similar to the one which the Minister is now seeking to bring into existence. This is what he said, and it may be a source of comfort to the Minister when he is being heckled by some gentlemen in the bench opposite to him :

Great changes are not often effected without much heat and controversy. But the result in our case has been achieved with a remarkable concensus of opinion, a result due to the wisdom and foresight of our educational leaders, who have not permitted themselves to subordinate the common good to vested interests, however much they may have sympathised with local patriotism alarmed for the future of some cherished institution.

" I make a present of this to the hon. gentlemen who have expressed great apprehensions as to the future of the mufassal colleges. Sir Harcourt Butler very rightly recognized the necessity of a spirit of sacrifice with a view to common good subordinating local patriotism and not being alarmed that their institutions might suffer. But is it a real fact, Sir, that mufassal institutions would stand to lose? Would they be worse off than they are at present? I think not. For, the figures seem to show that mufassal colleges and mufassal students would not suffer. Out of 1,473 students in Madras studying in the arts colleges in the B.A. course only 110 are from the Madras city and the rest are all from the mufassal, from Vizagapatam in the north up to Tuticorin in the south, and up to Mangalore in the west. Sir, from the latest available figures which I have got up to the 31st March 1921, there are in the mufassal colleges only 1,266 pupils in nine centres but in ten colleges ; Trichinopoly has two colleges, and of the technical colleges 90 per cent of the pupils who attend technical colleges are to be found in the several technical institutions in or around the Madras city. When I speak of 'around the Madras city' I refer to the Engineering College in Guindy and to the Teachers' College in Saidapet.

" Sir, it is said, and my hon. friend Mr. Rama Rao was one of those who laid stress on it, that this Bill ought to have first obtained the sanction of the educational experts who hold their chambers in the Senate House. May I say that this Bill has not been expedited by the hon. the Minister and is not sought to be rushed through this House without being submitted to them? This Bill is the result of the activities of the educationists who are called F.M.U.s, who have considered the applicability of the Sadler Commission's report to the conditions of Madras and who have apparently taken upon themselves voluntarily the task of finding out how far they are applicable to Madras, and they have passed several resolutions which the Minister has taken some pains to point out in his opening speech anticipating criticisms levelled against him that every section in his Bill is but a reproduction of the resolutions of the Senate passed in March 1921. These resolutions were passed after the Sadler Commission's recommendations have been considered in great detail by the sub-committees appointed by the Senate, so that I might very well say that the Minister has done nothing more than putting in the form of a legal Bill all those resolutions to which they have set their stamp of approval. In fact, I may call the Bill the child of the Madras University senators. But how is it then, Sir, that they feel ashamed of this Bill at present? It looks as if some of the senators of the Madras University are feeling or are entertaining a feeling identical or similar to that which is depicted by that great artist Ravi Varma in a picture representing Menaka presenting her beautiful child Sakuntala to its progenitor Visvamitra who holds up his hand against his face as if in shame

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pushing the child away. Like Sakuntala, this Bill which is the off-spring of the Madras University shall go forth into the world to be a model and pattern of all educational virtues among the universities of India ('hear, hear' and cheers).

"Sir, it has been said by some Members that if the Government are not in a position to place all the mufassal colleges on the same footing as the Madras colleges Government ought not to undertake this legislation. Sir, I think I might illustrate the position by a familiar example from our own households. Many people who are householders have three or four daughters born to them: they think of marrying them in due time. But on the occasion of the contemplated marriage of the first daughter, do they say that they have not got funds to provide equally for the other daughters, for their jewels, cloths, etc.? Do they think of postponing the marriage of the first born daughter till they are in a position to find the money for a similar provision in the case of their other daughters? Do they not say that they will go on with the marriage of the first child and then, after that is over, they will try and find the necessary funds for the marriage of the other daughters? Likewise, this Government, like the prudent father who is not possessed of large worldly wealth, except it be as my friend Mr. Vandana would call, the vakil rajas who may have hoarded several lakhs of rupees or merchant princes or zamindars but like all others who are possessed of moderate wealth, can only provide for one at a time and they have now provided for the Madras University. It is not seeking to spend a large sum of money, but it is seeking to harness all the available resources which are found in the shape of arts colleges, in the shape of scientific institutions in and out of Madras and only making a suitable grant for the purpose of giving better facilities for them.

"Sir, I find that it has been said that this Bill has not had the approval of the Senate. There are some people, except of course those who legitimately feel that mufassal colleges would be thrown into the shade, who come and say that unless you are able to provide for other colleges also we shall not begin this. Sir, this kind of mentality is peculiar to a section of the articulate class in South India. We have known this mentality already exhibited in the early days of this Council. We found it at the time when the salaries of Ministers were fixed. They all appealed to the sense of economy then. But they have been pleading before Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu for an equal payment with the Executive Councillors because they thought that then only their prestige could be maintained, and that was their argument before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Now, Sir, the angle of vision has changed after the result of the election was announced. Likewise, when they put forward, through the university, those resolutions which now find an embodiment in this Bill, they expected that the sponsors of this Bill might be one particular class; but now when they find that the sponsors happen to be somebody different from them, they withdraw their support. There is a change in the angle of vision. Otherwise the facts which existed at that time remain the same and there is no reason why it should be opposed. There is no reason why, while in Allahabad, where the university was in existence for the last about 35 years only, it was found suitable and prudent to modify its educational system and it had the occasion of celebrating its anniversary at the Convocation presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, in

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Madras which is an older institution and is probably the oldest university in India, the university should not be reorganized on proper lines and set up on larger lines of usefulness to the country at large?"

Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur:—"Sir, I have great pleasure in giving my hearty support to the Bill. As has been pointed out yesterday, the Madras University is a distinguished body of about 65 years' standing and what the hon. the Minister wants now, is, as has been pointed out by Rev. Meston, to add a superstructure to the existing building and not demolish and reconstruct it. Sir, my friend Mr. Rama Rao raised a question as to the attitude of the Senate. I am a member of the Senate and was present at the meeting when this question came up. The attitude taken by the Senators who wanted to reject this Bill was rather unfortunate. They said that until other teaching universities were brought into existence, the Madras Government should not convert the Madras University into a teaching university. Educationists, however great, must be reasonable. If they are unreasonable, I do not think they would make any impression upon others. Their attitude is exactly like the attitude of the extremists who attack the diarchy system of Government saying that they want only full self-government and decline to make any beginning with the reforms now granted and would only be satisfied with the full control of Government. Sir, Rome was not built in a day. Teaching universities could not be got up in a day or two. We must have a beginning and I congratulate the hon. the Minister for having brought this Bill and having had the courage to introduce the Bill against the unreasonable attitude of the Senators.

"Sir, in regard to the constitution of the new university, I should also like to congratulate the Minister for having democratised the basis of election. The very first question I asked in this House in the time of the late Mr. Subbarayulu Reddiyar was, when the Government were going to reconstitute the University on a democratic basis; and the answer was: 'the question was under the consideration of the Government.' Members of my community want to take part in all institutions, be they Educational, Local Self-Government, or Legislative; but during the 65 years of the existence of the Madras University, it will be a good news to you to learn that there has not been a singular Muhammadan in the Syndicate though there have been very distinguished members on the Senate. Sir Abdur Rahim was playing an important part in the discussion of the Senate, but the constitution was such that he could not get into the *sanctum sanctorum* of that body. I congratulate the Minister because he has been trying to make the basis of election in a most popular manner so that all communities could be represented in the Senate. Also, Sir, I am glad that 25 members have got to be nominated and that will secure the representation of all communities adequately so that, if members of my community did not come in by election, the inequality could be remedied by means of nomination. I will also plead that more representation ought to be given for the Corporation of Madras; for the university is going to be in Madras and Madras Corporation has got a very good right to send more representatives. I would therefore request that the number three should be increased to five. With these words I support the Bill."

Mr. T. ARUMAINATHA PILLAI:—"In rising to speak on this Bill, I may at once state that I accept the principle of this Bill by which an

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attempt is made to create a residential university. I also accept the principle that it is impossible to start universities in the mufassal centres simultaneously. I would point out to the hon. the Minister that it would be necessary in the interests of education that, as early as possible, university centres should be created in mufassal places also. The hon. the Minister has been good enough to tell us that in order to create such universities, that in order that the present efficient first-grade colleges in the mufassal would be potential universities, he has created what is called a Council of affiliated colleges. Excepting for the statement in paragraph 3 of the preamble, I do not believe, Sir, that he has anywhere in this Bill put in or drafted clauses or rules by which these efficient first-grade colleges would, in the near future, be a potential university or develop into any university at all, and he has entirely relied upon the Council of affiliated colleges. It has been stated by my friend Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar, representing one or two of the colleges from Trichinopoly, and also by Sir Desika Achariyar, the president of the National College at Trichinopoly, that there is a very great feeling of anxiety in the mufassal colleges that their interests would be jeopardized by this Bill. I may tell you, Sir, that I also share their anxiety. But so far as myself am concerned, I belong to a community whose education is entirely due to the missionary institutions in the mufassal, and it will be the duty of everyone of my community to get up and try to see that such institutions are not endangered at all. Now, Sir, it has been stated also that the dangers which are apprehended on behalf of the mufassal colleges are merely visionary and far fetched and so on. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons the Minister has told us that the courses of study and the standard of examination will be the same for both the students of the university and the affiliated colleges. Well, Sir, if the courses of examinations are to be the same for both these students, then may I just ask the Minister to say whether there would not be a difficulty for these mufassal colleges. For the college situated in the City of Madras with its well equipped laboratory, with its efficient and specialized university professors will prepare one set of students, and the mufassal colleges will prepare quite another set of students. Both of them appear for the same examination, and the difficulties and disadvantages of the mufassal college students will be apparent. I believe we will not be coming to a stage when we will have to say that examinations shall not be a test by which degrees would be conferred. The only other natural consequence should be that there should be a different set of examination for the mufassal students. If we are going to have it so, then it is apparent on the face of it that the degrees conferred by the University in its name on students appearing from the mufassal colleges will not have the same value. I am sure that the mufassal colleges will suffer in that respect. In order to alleviate this, the Minister has said that by right of Statute a place is reserved in the Syndicate and Academic Council for the Council of affiliated colleges. I would rather ask whether that would be considered satisfactory by the affiliated colleges.

"Sir, it is stated that the Council of affiliated colleges shall consist of principals of affiliated colleges, and six representatives of district boards and one representative of every municipality where an affiliated college is situate. I may just take that and ask how many of the district boards are maintaining

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first-grade colleges and how many municipalities have done so? Then that clause will only enable outsiders to come into the Council of affiliated colleges.

"Sir, if this Council of affiliated colleges is to protect only affiliated colleges as these, may I know why university teachers 3-45 p.m. who will be dubbed as such by the university should be given a place in the Council of affiliated colleges? Then again, Sir, may I ask the hon. the Minister why there should be any place for any nomination by the Chancellor so far as this Council is concerned; I therefore submit, Sir, that this Council of affiliated colleges by its very constitution will not be of any help to those colleges in protecting their interests.

"Then again, coming to the powers of the Council of affiliated colleges, if you will read clause 24 which gives the power to the Council of affiliated colleges, I may at once state without fear of any contradiction either from the hon. the Minister or from any of the other educational experts here, that these powers now vested in the Council will not enable these affiliated colleges at any time to become university centres; on the other hand, they will always be dependent upon the Madras University. It is stated that by the Statute itself four places are given to the mufassal colleges in the Syndicate, which is not the case at present. I am sure that the hon. the Minister himself will say that the mere giving of places to mufassal colleges in the Syndicate will solve their difficulty. The hon. the Minister was good enough to give us yesterday a list as to the number of colleges in the city in and around, and also the number of colleges in the mufassal. I would ask the hon. the Minister to give to the various colleges within the University area and to the number of colleges in the mufassal a proportionate representation in the Syndicate. If that is done, Sir, I believe something would have been done to alleviate the feelings of these mufassal colleges.

"Then, Sir, I submit that so far as funds are concerned, the hon. the Minister was saying yesterday that we have now got about eleven lakhs of rupees in the University consisting of recurring and non-recurring grants given by the Government of India. I would ask the hon. the Minister whether that amount was not given by the Government for university education for all the colleges in the whole of this Presidency, and whether he would not consider and see that some portion at least of that fund goes to those mufassal colleges. I would therefore request the hon. the Minister to amend clause 39 so that money could be spared for the affiliated colleges so that they may in the near future become university centres. That is another question which the hon. the Minister has got to consider.

"Then, Sir, the hon. the Minister has been good enough to give an assurance that in his hands the mufassal colleges would not suffer. Personally I would like to have at the head of Education the hon. Mr. Patro till this Bill is worked out in its fullest extent and till the new universities in the mufassal are created. But the hon. Mr. Patro is a Minister of to-day; Ministers may come and Ministers may go and it is only by election that they have to come in. If the hon. Mr. Patro could only give an assurance that he will be here always—of course I wish that it would be possible for us to retain him for some more years—then I would rest satisfied with these verbal assurances. I would rather request the hon. the Minister to embody in the Bill the spirit of his assurance as to how the first-grade colleges would be freely worked into university centres.

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"Then, Sir, one more clause which I have got to mention is this. The Senate is considered in the Bill to be the supreme body of this university. I would invite the attention of the hon. the Minister that, in spite of the Senate being the supreme body and the final controlling body so far as even the funds of the university are concerned, the Bill says that the resolutions of the Senate shall only be recommendations. I believe, Sir, the hon. the Minister will look into this matter also when the Bill comes before the Select Committee."

"There is one other matter which I have got to refer to so far as the mufassal colleges are concerned. It is stated that, so far as the affiliated colleges are concerned, without consulting them nothing shall be done by the Syndicate or the Academic Council so as to alter their status. But so far as this Bill is concerned, it simply leaves it there. Suppose the Syndicate or the Academic Council refuse the special recommendations of the Council of affiliated colleges, what is the remedy? The simple provision is that the Council of affiliated colleges will have to put a big *salaam* to them and say 'you can do as you please'. That is the power given. So far as their opinions are concerned, they might or might not be accepted. The opinion of the Academic Council must have the greatest weight and they will have the final voice in the administration of these universities so far as the interests of the mufassal colleges go."

"On the whole, Sir, whatever might be the defects of the Bill—and I am afraid there are very many defects—I would rather support this Bill and allow it to go to the Select Committee and ask the hon. the Minister not only to consider the defects which I have pointed out, but also various other defects and produce a Bill which would satisfy all colleges not only in the city but also in the mufassal."

Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—"Mr. President, I strongly support this Bill. I congratulate the hon. the Minister for Education for attempting to develop our university from a mere examining body to a teaching and residential one, thus making it a clear culture ground on a par with other civilized parts of the world. As to the grievances of Sir. T. Desika Achariyar for not giving any effect to the resolution of the Senate, our Minister has started at it and completion will come in time."

"Sir, in this Bill we are only going back to our ancient system of universities where *gurus* and *sishyas* resided in the same *asram*; only we have now more than one *guru* and many more *sishyas*, perhaps, engaged in the pursuit of knowledge much more advanced than what existed in those days. Sir, in appreciating the co-operation that will be produced by this Bill not only between the university and the various colleges, both affiliated and residential, and also among the colleges themselves, the academic atmosphere that will be created in and around the university and the corporate unity that will be felt among all these bodies,—in appreciating all these I cannot but observe that as far as the constitution of the authorities of the university is concerned, for the majority the tax-paying non-Brahman public, it is nothing but escaping from Scylla and falling into Charybdis; it is nothing but escaping the devil and falling into the deep sea. For, all these authorities, whether Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council, or Council of affiliated colleges and Faculties, will have, or are sure to have, Brahman majorities. We can find this out if we go minutely into all these. Then these Brahman universities taking

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into consideration that Brahmans are sufficiently educated and have got various means of getting themselves educated in this world and also taking into consideration the fact that there is not much prospect of their getting into Government service now-a-days (laughter)—they may pass a resolution that English shall not be taught in these universities and then there is an end of all our educational advance. I am telling these advisedly because there is a mania among many of us that education should be imparted through the endless vernaculars of this country. Sir, at least 75 per cent of the seats on these authorities should be reserved for non-Brahmans (hear, hear, and cheers), Muhammadans, Christians, non-Brahman Hindus, Anglo-Indians, resident Europeans, Parsis, Jains and others. Sir, when the High Court thought it fit to restrict the number of Brahman members in certain Board of Trustees, such as the Pachaiyappa's Charities, why not Government reserve 75 per cent of the seats for non-Brahmans in an institution which will be maintained mainly by the public funds. Sir, these fifteen communal seats referred to by my friend Khan Bahadur Dr. Usman Sahib are there only to give a communal semblance to the Bill. On going through the constitution of this university, I cannot see any democracy in it but oligarchy perpetrated as hitherto. If this Bill is allowed to be passed into law without sufficient communal safeguards, it will be reorganizing the university with a vengeance to put down the aspirations of the non-Brahmans for higher education. We are now regulating admissions into these various colleges on communal basis through resolutions of this Council. Colleges hitherto maintained by Government are to be transferred to this university but the maintenance of them should be met from public revenue. Now there is an end of all that hope. I hope our popular Minister with the select committee that will be formed will at least attempt to right the wrongs contemplated.

"Sir, I appeal to the representatives of the various communities here, I appeal to them in the name of their children, in the name of their posterity, in the name of their community and in the name of their country, to see that this Bill is sufficiently safeguarded before it is passed into law. Sir, we are no doubt committed as a party to mass education. Elementary education is the first charge on the State and it is only the surplus that should be utilized for aiding higher education maintained by private agencies. Mass education is the salvation of our country politically, socially and economically, but we are not to deny ourselves the luxury, and sometimes the necessity, of higher education only if it would be of the utmost benefit to the majority of the people of the land.

"Lastly, Sir, reference was made to the party and the Ministers by my friend Mr. M. C. Raja. I would only assure him and his community that but for the exertions of our Ministers and their party, the Adi-Dravidas would not be having the privileges they are having to-day and they would not have existed even as a political body. Sir, it is our hon. Minister, Rai Bahadur Venkatareddi Nayudu, that pleaded for them in England and is pleading for them to-day. It is the hon. the Raja of Panagal that brought into existence the Depressed Classes Mission, and when he became Minister, he revolutionized the whole self-government department by introducing the Adi-Dravida element everywhere."

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Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR :—“ I am for permission being given for the introduction of this Bill for the reorganization of the

4 p.m.

Madras University. Unlike my hon. friend, Mr. Natesan,

I am inclined to think that this Bill is likely to make the university more democratic in the sense that the people who contribute to the public funds, in the sense that the educated classes of the province will have a greater control in the management of its affairs. The Bill, in addition, provides for the constitution of different bodies to look after different functions. It is not one body which will hereafter be looking to the academic side of things as well as to the administrative side; on the other hand, the two functions will be separated and there will be two distinct bodies, one an academic council and another for administrative purposes. Again, Sir, the standard of teaching, I think, will hereafter be levelled up in the case of those institutions where the standard is now below the mark. For this and for other reasons, I am glad to support the Bill.

“ Having said so much, I should not be understood to mean that the Bill requires no modification in any part whatsoever. I am sure that even the hon. Minister for Education will concede that his pet scheme is not perfect as it is and deserves to be considered and reconsidered perhaps. For one thing, I would say that the university should certainly be made very independent and more autonomous than perhaps it is likely to be under the constitution provided for it in the present Bill. For instance, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, the Minister says that it will be the endeavour of the Government that, except to a very limited extent in financial matters, to divest itself of control over the affairs of the university and make the Senate an autonomous body as far as possible. I would appeal to the Minister to see that he makes it actually real and not so in name. But if he is going to assure the university only a lump grant of about Rs. 65,000 or a little more, how can he expect the university to be independent and autonomous, if at every step it has to come to the Minister or Government for additional money? I do not think that a university which is placed in such a position as that could lay claim to be independent and autonomous.

“ And again, Sir, I would like that the pay of the Vice-Chancellor should be fixed by the Senate though the appointment may be made by any body even by the Chancellor. But his pay, I think, following the analogy followed in this House in regard to the Ministers, should be fixed by the Senate.

“ I would, then, Sir, plead for greater representation of the graduates of the university. The number given now is only 25. I think it is very little. Even in the University of Dacca whose example the hon. Minister said he was following, provision is made for about 30 in a court of 100, and our Senate is therefore bound to consist of a larger number of people, and I think 30 at least ought to be the minimum.

“ Next, Sir, I would plead for greater representation of Commerce in the Senate. There is at present one Member for each of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the South Indian Chamber of Commerce. I would suggest that there should at least be three from each body. I do not think the Senate will be any the worse by its getting a larger representation of the business element.

“ There is one other thing which appears to me to be important and which requires change. There is an attempt made under clause 32 of the

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Bill to give Government the control over examinations which will make students eligible for admission to the university and that provision should be deleted. Facilities may be afforded to schools to develop into public schools as they exist in England and other places. But when students of these schools are to be admitted to the university, I think they should be made to conform to the standard required by the university.

"And then, Sir, there was an objection that some more universities should be simultaneously established in the Presidency before the one at Madras is given a start. As rightly remarked by Rev. Mr. Mestou, a beginning should be made somewhere and it obviously cannot be made everywhere. But, Sir, there are some persons in this House who want a university to be started somewhere, others who want it to be started everywhere, and yet others who want it to be started probably their own where, if I may so call it, and nowhere else, for instance in the case of the Andhra university. I take this opportunity to warn the hon. the Minister that when he starts a university, he should take into consideration the needs of the several districts and the interests sought to be served. Some hon. Members of the House may be aware that the Andhra movement had its genesis in a feeling of jealousy of the Tamil districts and in order to safeguard themselves, the Andhras wanted to have a province of their own. The House will consider the case of the more backward districts of the so-called Telugu areas who are also anxious about the move for a new Andhra university. Their fears are not without justification. For, I am told there is going to be a conference in regard to this matter up in the North where invitations are restricted to the four districts of the North thereby making it clear that the backward portions of the Telugu area would have to go to the wall or left to the tender mercies of the more adventurous districts of the Telugu area. While I have ventured to point out some of the details in which this Bill requires modification and also the safeguards that must be provided in creating new universities, I have great pleasure in giving my general support to the Bill."

Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Mr. President, I agree on the whole with the principles of the Bill now introduced by my hon. friend, Mr. Patro. It is a bold step that he has taken when even the Senate of the Madras University has thrown out the Bill on a minor point. I should like to say this, at the outset, regarding the preamble of the Bill where the hon. the Minister talks of starting a teaching and residential university in the city of Madras. I am afraid the word 'residential' there is rather out of place. Residential universities are understood in the West to mean the two great universities in England, Oxford and Cambridge, which have ideals of their own and which are really centres of culture where different people congregate in order that the world may be benefited by their cultural tradition. But that has never been possible in democratic countries, and in America, for instance, in spite of the Americans trying to establish residential universities on the system of Oxford and Cambridge at Yale, Harvard and elsewhere, they have not succeeded in doing so. I should also like to say this, that in Madras there are about 200 or 300 students attending colleges whose parents reside in Madras. It would be really hard if Madras colleges are asked to start hostels for even these students. Really speaking, hostels are meant for people who come

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from the mufassal and whose parents are not in the city and who are therefore entrusted to the teachers of the various colleges. I hope the hon. the Minister will see his way to modify the provision with regard to residential hostels at least for pupils in colleges who are residents of the city of Madras.

"Secondly, I should like to mention that the hon. the Minister has followed the American principle in making members who subscribe 25,000 as members of the Senate straightforward. I think that is a wrong principle. No doubt there should be some incentive for people to subscribe for university education. The State by itself cannot find all the funds, but, merely because they give a sum of money to make them members of the governing body of the university without understanding any of the ideals for which such university stands seems to me to proceed on a wrong principle. And I hope the Minister will see his way to alter that provision. I do not for a moment say that people who subscribe to the university should have no control over it. But what I say is that they should not be allowed to swamp the governing body. We should safeguard against that in the Bill.

"Then, Sir, there is the danger which people from the mufassal apprehend that mufassal colleges will lose their importance. I think that they are mistaken in their apprehensions. They know very well that the Government have not got funds enough to start universities in every centre. But by passing this Bill they would be safeguarding the interests of the mufassal colleges because when once the Madras University is established as a teaching university, there will certainly be a cry for more universities in the mufassal, and the Minister in charge of Education will have to find funds for them. I believe the hon. the Minister is himself seriously thinking of putting the Andhra university on its legs soon, and I hear that he is providing funds for the initial expenditure in this direction. Then, the Madras University will be the better for the organization proposed in the Bill.

"Now the University is trying to make some arrangement for teaching, but as yet there is no co-ordination. When this Bill comes into force the constituent colleges will see what subjects will be taught best in their own places and begin to teach the subjects in which they are efficient. I believe now there has been some arrangement between the Christian and the Presidency colleges by which the Honourable students are allowed to attend lectures of both colleges, and this arrangement will lead to co-ordination of work, which is necessary for efficient teaching.

"Farther, I hope the hon. the Minister will give up the idea of the nomination of two members to the Syndicate by the Chancellor. I think that is a retrograde step, and I hope he will try to omit that provision in the Bill.

"In the end, I will also plead with my hon. friend, Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, that the Chambers of Commerce should be given larger representation on the University. For, the University being constituted in the city, the commercial interests ought to be properly represented. Moreover, it would give an incentive to the Chambers of Commerce to help the University by financial aid. With these remarks, I heartily support the principles of the Bill."

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Mr. R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTIYAR :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I have very great pleasure in giving my support to the general principles embodied in this Bill. It was a great author, Sir, speaking about universities, who remarked: ‘If I had some money and wanted to found a university, I would at first build a kitchen and a dining-room; if I had some more money, I would purchase some books and build a library room, and if I had still some surplus left, I would hire some professors.’ That expression of opinion only emphasises, I think, the real aspect of university life, and that aspect of university life, as has been imagined and remarked, is not peculiar to the West but one eminently peculiar to the Eastern ideals; because if we understand the ideals as understood in the East about education, the very essence of that ideal was that the students and the professors came into close contact and lived together throughout the period of the students’ study. Judged by these ideals the University of Madras is condemned wholesale; but I should think that in our zeal and in our enthusiasm for university reform it is absolutely unnecessary to decry an institution like the Madras University. The two Acts of 1857 and 1904 under which the Madras University is at present working had never pretended to create a residential and teaching university and conform to the ideals about which we are talking at the present day. The present University of Madras under those Acts was meant to discharge a certain function, and I think we as its *alumni* might bear testimony to the fact that that function has been discharged by our *alma mater* most splendidly in the past and is being done in the same way at present.

“ But the question is now to be asked whether we should rest satisfied with the work which the University of Madras has so far been doing, and whether the time has not come for a change in its ideals and for a development in its activities, and I am sure that for this general question there cannot be a second answer. Even the Senate of the University of Madras in its sober moments recommended that some reform of the kind which is contemplated in the present Bill must be brought about very soon. Though the University of Madras as such had discharged the functions which it was meant to perform, yet the criticism levelled against it is that it has not created an academic atmosphere. The degree that the University confers is merely nothing. I am told, Sir, on very high authority that for example the degrees that the Oxford and the Cambridge universities confer on their students do not mean anything more than the fact that these young men have behaved well for some time and have been kept out of jail for four years; and some of the representatives of these Universities who are my friends have borne testimony to the truth of this statement. The question now before us is whether it is not time for us to think of a different ideal for our university and whether we should not change its activity and bring about that academic atmosphere and cultural spirit about which we are talking. I think, Sir, that the Bill that is now before the House satisfies in a very eminent degree in laying emphasis upon and bringing into prominence all those ideals. So far as I can read into this Bill, it has got two objects in view. It aims at reforming and developing the idealistic side of the University and at the same time it aims at the reforming of its administration. The idealistic or the cultural side of the university is sought to be reformed by making it a teaching university and not merely an examining body. Now in

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solving this problem an important question naturally arises as we are not beginning with a clean slate. We have got in Madras, colleges with a history behind them, and what is to be the place and function of these colleges in the new university that is to be constituted? As was pointed out by my revered professor Meston : are they to be mere hostels, so to say, in the new machine? I for one would emphatically protest against any such scheme of reform. For, I must say, Sir, without any offence to you or to the other *alumni* of the Presidency College, that we of the Christian College at any rate have an individuality (hear, hear), and we would try to maintain it at all costs, and not even for the highest ideal of university life would we change or forego that individuality and that historical tradition that we have preserved. Our fears in this direction are completely set aside, because in the beautiful phraseology which the Statement of Objects and Reasons employs, the university is 'to express itself in and through the constituent colleges and not merely absorb these colleges into itself.' That I think, Sir, is an ideal very desirable, which will surely bring about that academic atmosphere and at the same time preserve the distinctiveness and the individuality of the present colleges.

"So much for the idealistic side of the new reform. On the administrative side, if I had any doubt whether the present Senate or the University is to be reformed, my doubts on that point were set at rest when I found the way in which that Senate dabbled with the present University Bill when it was before them. The way in which they behaved at that time is conclusive proof for me that there is something wrong and fundamentally wrong with that body, and that the time has come for reforming it. In a true university organization there ought to be scope for the educationist to control perfectly and completely the curriculum of studies and such other academic matters, and at the same time scope for the utilization of every counsel from the laymen, and the new University Bill that is now before us eminently satisfies this aspect of the question in that it provides in the Senate scope for the utilization of the talents of laymen, and in the Syndicate which is to be the executive body of the Senate it gives full scope and freedom for the educational experts. That is an ideal which is very desirable, and we must congratulate ourselves that it has been achieved in this Bill. The question then arises, what is to become of the mufassal bodies. The fact cannot be hidden that the connexion of mufassal colleges under this new machine is to be only temporary. At the same time it is the duty of those who are responsible for this Bill to see that so long as that connexion lasts the present status and powers of mufassal colleges are in no way decreased and to give us no room for any apprehension from that quarter. In the present Bill the Council of affiliated colleges gives to the mufassal colleges scope for expressing themselves and for making their voice felt and to see that the university safeguards their interests properly.

"There is one other aspect of this question on which I would just like to say a word or two and that is about the financial aspect. About this question a good deal of misapprehension is caused by confusing the applicability of the Sadler Committee's report to the present University Reform Bill. In recommending its conclusions for adoption by the Calcutta University, the Sadler Commission stated that it required a very large amount of capital, about sixty lakhs, as initial outlay, and, as had been pointed out by them, it was due to the fact that higher education and collegiate education in Calcutta

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was in a very chaotic state. I should say, Sir, that we in Madras are not in such a bad position as the Calcutta University: so that I for one am not frightened at the financial aspect of the question, and, even if the mufassal colleges are to suffer to some extent, it is a consequence inevitable in a great reform like this. We cannot have a university at our backyard or in our front yard. If we want something great, we must go to a great emporium for getting it. In the very nature of things, greatness and unity go together and excellence implies a centre; and the incidental sacrifices involved in bringing into existence such a centre which will be a centre of light and learning are worth incurring in my opinion. For, Sir, I do sincerely believe and hope that the new University Bill will help to realize, in some measure at least, the true ideal of a university which will be a place in which the intellect may safely range and speculate, a place in which errors would be exposed, truth verified and inquiry pushed forward by the collision of mind with mind and of knowledge with knowledge, a place in which the professor becomes a missionary and a preacher pouring forth his knowledge with zeal and enthusiasm, a place which, in the words of a great divine, 'wins the admiration of the young by its celebrity, kindles the affections of the middle-aged by its beauty, and rivets the fidelity of the old by its associations', a place which will be a seat of wisdom, a light of culture, a minister of truth and the *alma mater* of the rising generations."

Mr. P. SIVA RAO :—“I rise to support this Bill on the general principles embodied in it. I take this opportunity of congratulating the hon. the Minister for Education on the very bold and forward step that he has taken in this matter. Now, Sir, before I proceed further let me inform this House that the Minister is not perhaps the real author of this Bill. As a matter of history I may tell this House that the Sadler Commission, otherwise known as the Calcutta University Commission, held a very elaborate enquiry and made certain recommendations which are applicable to the Calcutta University and to other universities as well. They gave a finding that, at any rate as regards Calcutta, a teaching and residential university must be established there. I have taken great care to compare the provisions of this Bill with the recommendations of the Commission, and I see the present Bill closely follows the lines of those recommendations.

“The present University of Madras was constituted in 1857 and it has done glorious work in the past. Now, for some years past, for at least a quarter of a century, there has been an incessant cry in the country that this university should cease to be solely an examining body, and that it must take upon itself duties of teaching as well. That has been the cry in every part of the country. The Sadler Commission examined a large number of witnesses and they came to a unanimous conclusion that a university proper should not devote itself solely to conducting examinations, but should also undertake to impart higher education in the land. Now, in pursuance of those recommendations, this Bill has been drafted, and I hold that the hon. the Minister for Education is absolutely innocent in this matter. He was simply acting on the recommendations of that Commission. The Senate considered this Bill, and I have had occasions to read the recommendations of the Senate in connexion with another committee that was appointed, a committee for the reorganization of secondary education in this Presidency. By a large majority they came to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Sadler Commission should be followed. In pursuance of those recommendations the

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hon. the Minister drafted this Bill and when it came up for consideration in the Senate it was thrown out by a very narrow majority. The Senate did not reject the proposals at all. It is a mistake to suppose that the Senate has rejected it. They have not rejected it. While approving the general principles of establishing a teaching and residential university at Madras, they made it a condition that this university should be established as soon as the Government were ready to found similar universities in other parts of the Presidency. The essence of the present Bill is to convert the present examining university into a teaching and residential one. No doubt it is a large improvement on the old state of things. It provides for a very large elective element, and those details whether the donors should have representation, whether the commercial interests should have representation and whether the number of ex-officio members is not unduly large or unduly small—those are all very small matters. The essence of the scheme is to bring the university into closer contact with the students and to arrange for a system of co-operative training between the constituent colleges in the Presidency.

"Coming to the main features of the Bill I may say that for the first time it places the financial grants on a statutory basis. Hereafter the Government cannot go back upon their word. The Statement of Objects and Reasons clearly sets forth the principles underlying the Bill. It runs as follows :

A new synthesis is established between the University and its colleges, wherein the University will not be something outside and apart from the colleges, as it now is, but the colleges, will in the fullest sense be members of and partners in the University. The new system will really enable the University to be responsible for the character of the teaching given in its name and to realize that it is the training given to the students which is of primary importance and the examinations which test this training are of subsidiary importance. The Bill emphasises a system wherein the colleges, while stronger and freer than they now are and able to command more fully than ever the loyalty of their students, will neither be tempted to rival the university or claim independance of it, nor have reason to feel any jealousy or fear of it, or to regard it as a competitor. It is a university of colleges that will be established.

"I do not see what serious objection there can be to this Bill. I do not look upon it with alarm provided it is a new body that stands up to its glorious ideals. If you are going to have a new, better and more representative body, there can be possibly no objection to it.

"One other serious objection was raised with regard to this Bill regarding the mufassal colleges. I am a mufassalite. I do not share for a moment in the apprehensions that have been expressed. I seriously ask my hon. friends whether the present condition of these colleges would deteriorate. They say the student population will fall off; they say that there will be a rush to the metropolitan colleges. How many can such colleges accommodate? Surely some must be accommodated in the mufassal colleges. I would ask what foundation is there for these fears? There was a suggestion from one quarter of the House that a provision must be inserted in the Bill that some more universities must be started. I will simply reply to my friend who says that, 'we must stop all advance, unless we advance simultaneously all round' it is simply a dog in the manger policy. It must be conceded that Madras, by virtue of its position and influence, ought to have a university of its own. Why should we say, 'Don't advance unless we simultaneously advance'. I submit that it is a narrow-minded policy to be adopted. There must be a premier institution where we can have ideal teaching to form a model for the other colleges. At the present juncture let us have one unique and premier institution in the city of Madras which can be looked upon to

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impart the best traditions and the highest training in the land. As for the mufassal colleges, it is for the hon. Minister to see that no rivalry is created among the various institutions. It is for him to see that there is no undue jealousy and undue competition among these colleges. So long as there is the assurance that the independence, status, prestige, and financial position of the mufassal colleges will be maintained, respected and left unimpaired, so long as there is the assurance from the hon. Minister that ere long those colleges which are now potential universities will be encouraged to develop themselves into separate units, then so long we need not be alarmed and we need not hesitate to allow this Bill to go before the Select Committee. Even the Sadler Committee were of opinion that some form of special treatment of the mufassal colleges was necessary. The one course they suggest for safeguarding the interests of the mufassal colleges is the formation of a council of mufassal colleges which will have a very effective voice. With these words, I support the principles of the Bill."

MR. P. T. RAJAN:—"I rise to support the Bill brought forward by the hon. the Education Minister. Sir, there are many difficulties in the way of bringing forward reforms in the present University of Madras. The chief of them is finance. No doubt there have been criticisms against this Bill mostly adverse and interested, and I am sure the hon. the Minister for Education can easily afford to ignore them. If the hon. the Education Minister can find enough money, it will be a matter of easy walk-over for him in getting the Bill passed here. I shall confine my remarks to the idea of a residential university. In this Bill it has not been sufficiently explained as to what is meant by a residential university. Sir, the idea of a residential university has been borrowed not only by India but by other countries also. From the rules and regulations you will see that to be in residence at Oxford means that you should be at Oxford for a particular time. It does not necessarily mean that you should attend the lectures. It will suffice to stay for a particular number of nights. As a matter of fact, it is only the colleges that require their students to reside at a particular place and expect them to take part in the various activities of the college. Each college is a corporate body by itself. Each college has got its own individuality and its own tradition. The habits and traditions of all these colleges go to make up the university. Without these colleges there is no university whatever. As a matter of fact, there is no university apart from the colleges. That can be seen from the fact that the management of the university is entirely in the hands of the vice-chancellor who is elected once a year from the different heads of the colleges. So it will be observed that the affairs of the university, in its education as well as its other affairs, are conducted purely by university men who are professors and heads of the colleges. I would request the hon. the Minister for Education to kindly note this point. Till the University Act is put in a working order no doubt you will require the services of a full-timed man appointed by Government who will devote his time, knowledge and attention to his work. After that, I hope that the Education Minister will see that the vice-chancellor, who is the chief executive officer of the university, is elected without importing a stranger from outside from the heads of the colleges only. In this connexion I hope the hon. the Minister will see that hostels are attached to each college. Merely providing hostel accommodation is nothing. Each college must create some tradition. Members of each college must feel that they have a common tradition which should be maintained intact by them.

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This can be done only by making them live together. Now, coming to the object of the university, Sir, I am very glad that the university, which has been merely an examining body, will shortly be a teaching and residential body. I am very glad that these two ideals of a university are about to be realized. No doubt there is a lot of objection to the teaching university being established in Madras. I understand by the term 'teaching university' a university which will train its students and see to their conduct and culture so that they may become useful members of society. It does not guarantee when you enter the world any position which would fetch you a good fortune. The university is to give a liberal education. Those who think that merely by taking a degree they could make a fortune or make a name will be mistaken. As a matter of fact, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have never cared for the material side of life. You can count in numbers the number of men in Oxford and Cambridge who have made fortunes in the commercial world. What Oxford and Cambridge do is to train men so that they may be able to enter any walk of life, and cope with any situation that they may be given to deal with. They are giving men who are willing to sacrifice all their life in order to lift others less fortunate than themselves to better and useful conditions. Under these circumstances, a teaching and a residential university would mean a very costly thing no doubt. But if you want good men to enter our public life and if you want to raise the tone of the public life and maintain a high standard of morality in public life, it behoves all of us, no matter whether we are Andhras or whether we come from Malabar or the south, to bring about a university which would train men to take up the various walks of life. Now I congratulate the hon. the Minister for Education who deserves a deep debt of gratitude from all concerned."

Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU :—“ Mr. President, Sir, when I first read the note in the papers that the hon. the Minister 4-45 p.m. was going to introduce a University Bill, I thought it would be the Andhra University Bill, the only excuse for my thinking so being that I happened to be the Secretary of the Andhra University Committee. After submitting the report of that Committee, I was every moment expecting that the hon. Minister would bestow his attention on the framing of an Andhra University Bill; and when I was told that the note in the papers referred to the Madras University Bill, I thought again that the Government, not being able to select any suitable centre in the Andhra province, settled the centre for the University as Madras, and this view was confirmed when I read the principles of the Bill, because my recommendations—I hope I am not divulging any secrets—are not at all different from the principles embodied in the present Bill. Therefore, I cannot now consistently oppose any of the principles embodied in this Bill.

“ There is a lot of criticism regarding the status of the affiliated colleges in the mufassal, and it was suggested by some of the speakers that universities in the north and also in the south should grow simultaneously. I am one with them in this connexion. But I cannot at all understand the real principle of the criticism—as to how our problem can be solved even when those universities are started. Suppose to-morrow, as my friend Mr. Rauganatha Mudaliyar said, the centre for the university for the north is selected as Madanapalle or Auantapur, then, what is to become of the other colleges in the north? There must be some colleges there which must be affiliated

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either to the Madras University or to the new university for the north. My friend Sir Desika Achariyar suggested that he would be satisfied if Trichinopoly or some other place in the south is selected as a centre for a university for the Tamil districts. It is well and good; but is the question of affiliation of other existing colleges in the south solved by so doing? We all desire that several universities should come into existence, but the problem remains unsolved, and some of the existing colleges should be affiliated to one university or other. To my mind, this is a problem which cannot be solved satisfactorily.

"So far as this Bill is concerned, section 40 says that the Government may hand over some of their institutions to the University. In this connexion, I wish to put one plain question. Why not the Madras Government make up their mind at once and say 'these are the institutions, these are the colleges, which we are prepared to transfer to the University'? Is it not necessary that the Government should make up its mind with regard to this question before they settle the question of establishing residential and teaching university? Why should they not say, 'we are going to hand over to the University, the Presidency College, the Medical College, the Engineering College, the Queen Mary's College, the Teachers' College, etc.'? Is it the intention of the Government to run these institutions as constituent colleges? Are we to understand that all these colleges will be handed over to the University after this Bill becomes law? Of course, the Ministry has made up its mind to hand over the institutions to the University. It is a very bold and desirable step. The hon. Minister stated in his speech that he has effected decentralization. Why should he not make up his mind and tell us that he is going to hand over all these institutions to the University under the direct control of himself and his adviser, the Director of Public Instruction? I believe paragraph 3 of the preamble is introduced in order to meet the opposition of the mufassal colleges. It runs as follows:

Whereas it is desirable by the concentration and co-ordination of resources for higher teaching and research at suitable centres outside the limits of the City of Madras to prepare for the institution of new universities.

"This is one of the aims of the Bill. It is well and good. How far this noble aim of the Government will be given effect to by the subsequent provisions in the Bill is a matter for examination. There is a provision for a Council of affiliated colleges. What are its functions? There is nothing in its functions to say that it will develop to form new centres of university activity. Of course, there is a suggestion by some one that colleges in the north and colleges in the south should form two separate universities. It is desirable to have two associations, one for the north and the other for the south and they must in the beginning work with powers delegated by the Syndicate and Senate, and they must be able to create co-operation between the teachers of the various colleges and form real centres of university activity in future. Unless such a thing is proposed to be done by modifying the various sections regarding the Council of affiliated colleges, I do not think we will be justified in keeping that portion of the preamble in the Bill."

At this stage the Council rose for the day to meet again at 11 a.m. on Thursday, the 16th November 1922.

L. D. SWAMI KANNU,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.